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VOL. 2

CALGARY, NOV. 20, 1918

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THE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC

I have listened to the sighing of the burdened
 and the bound,
 I have heard it change to crying, with a menace
 in the sound;
 For as chimes, in some great steeple, tell the
 passing of the hour,
 So the voices of the people tell the death of
 purchased power.

All the gathered dust of ages, God is brushing
 from His Book;
 He is opening up its pages, and He bids His
 children look;
 For in shock and conflagration, and in pestilence
 and strife,
 He is speaking to the nations, of the brevity
 of life.

Mother Earth herself is shaken by our sorrows
 and our crimes;
 And she bids her sons awaken to the portent
 of the times;
 With her travail pains upon her, she is hurling
 from their place
 All the minions of dishonor, to admit the
 Coming Race.

By the voice of Justice bidden, she has torn the
 mask from night;
 All the shameful secrets hidden, she is dragging
 into light;
 And whoever wrongs his neighbor must be
 brought to judgment now,
 Though he wear the badge of Labor, or a crown
 upon his brow.

There is growth in Revolution, if the word is
 understood;
 It is one with Evolution, up from self, to brother-
 hood;
 He who utters it unheeding, bent on self, or
 selfish gain,
 His own day of doom is speeding, though he
 toil, or though he reign.

God is calling to the masses, to the peasant,
 and the peer;
 He is calling to all classes, that the crucial hour
 is near;
 For each rotting throne must tremble, and fall
 broken in the dust,
 With the leaders who dissemble, and betray a
 people's trust.

Yes, the voice of God is calling; above the wreck
 I see,
 Beyond the gloom appalling, the great
 Government-to-Be.
 From the ruins it has risen, it will set the
 people free,
 For they will own the hills and valleys in this
 Government-to-Be.

—Ella Wheeler Wilcox

TOPICS IN BRIEF

The Kaiser has reaped his wild oats, and
 Willie, too!

The Crown Prince always said he would
 rather lose his throne than be a puppet monarch
 like his cousin, George.

His wish has been gratified.

Hon. G. P. Smith now says its "double-
 barrelled" patronage at Ottawa.

A Winnipeg butcher has been seriously in-
 jured in the stock yards by a bull.

Never trust a "bull" no matter how good
 his reputation, or where he may be found.

"CAST OFF YOUR BURDENS"

The German war machine was a heavy burden
 to the German people, and it was a trite saying
 that every German workman always worked with
 "a soldier" strapped to his back. That is, he had
 to earn a living for his family and himself and also
 for a soldier as well. In like manner the Eng-
 lish workman carried a "squire or a lord,"
 the American workman carries "a politician."
 Our cartoon shows the Canadian farmer with
 "the Plutocrat and Profiteer" as his load. He is
 beginning to think for himself, but the "peanut
 politician" says he mustn't. The German worker
 has cast off his burden. We venture to assert the
 other burdens are also doomed.

A WOMAN REPRESENTATIVE AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

The women of Calgary are initiating a cam-
 paign in favor of representation of the women-
 hood of Canada at the peace conference.

The women feel that in a matter of such stu-
 pendous importance as a conference for the in-
 ternational peace settlement that the best
 thought of both men and women should be con-
 tributed; and, as women's experience differs from
 men's, they might bring a viewpoint that would
 be of value. Women, too, have paid the price of
 the war in loss and agony, and it is only fair that
 they should be called into the peace council.
 Indeed, a peace settlement can not be arranged
 on twentieth century, democratic principles
 without woman representation. The Calgary
 women are calling on provincial and national or-
 ganizations to support their campaign.

The following resolution has been forwarded
 to the Premier:

"Whereas, representatives of many interests
 in Canadian life have been selected to assist and
 advise the prime minister in the discussions re-
 specting the terms of peace:

"And, whereas, the prime minister called
 in conference representative women of Canada
 to assist and advise in carrying on the war:

"Therefore, we consider it advisable from
 every point of view that the womanhood of Can-
 ada be represented by one or more at the peace
 conference."

—Marion Carson.



The Farmer:—"I wonder if there's any Hoboes in my load!"

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Where Are the Grain Growers Drifting?

I was very much interested in the reply of Mr. Buckley to my article of friendly criticism of the Grain Growers in the issue of Sept. 27th. Taken altogether I think I may say that I am in almost entire accord with Mr. Buckley so far as the past work of the organization is concerned. But Mr. Buckley mentions ten great achievements of the organization—all of these great things—and they were great—were won years ago. Mr. Buckley has not mentioned one thing that has been won since the outbreak of the war—I challenge him to do it now, and venture the assertion that he can put down the items on a postage stamp and not be liable to the charge of mutilating the King's visage. True the Grain Growers have gone on and made money in true capitalistic fashion but that in itself is not a great achievement—even the Canadian Pacific Railway has done likewise.

The trouble is that the farmers and grain growers were first bribed and then choked. They were bribed by promising them exemption—which was repudiated as soon as the votes were secured—they were choked by the cry of patriotism and told "to be good"—because that was the way to win the War. Finally one of the leaders was drawn into a government guilty of almost as many crimes as a Herod, as stupid as Tom Crothers, as perverse as a mule, and with about as much sympathy for the cause of Democracy as the C.P.R. President and the Calgary Board of Trade had for the Freight Handlers.

If this alliance between the capitalistic unionists and the grain growers had been the results of a bargain in which the political status before the war was to be maintained there would have been some justification for the course taken, but no such agreement was reached. On the contrary the farmers were taught to be good, to stay put, and to keep quiet, while the most damnable legislation was put through and put through with their support by an aggregation of politicians who laughed at them and jeered them even while they did it.

Mr. Buckley suggests that my criticism of this process is due to the fact that I am allied to the big interests. I am not—neither am I allied with those who have kept silent or accepted office while the farmers were being robbed. Mr. Buckley has given us a list showing the 'before' and 'after' aspects of the grain growers' activities. But here is the work of the last four years of "Big Business" in which, if judged by their activities the grain growers acquiesce.

(1) The raising of the tariff to a point at which it has almost reached prohibition of imports.

(2) The passing of a Franchise Act supported by the grain growers which has robbed the Democracy of the West of its right to vote and placed in office a government which does not represent the will of the people.

(3) Profiteering abysmal and abnormal as witness earnings of 72 per cent. on the common stock of Ogilvie Milling Co.

(4) Government by Order-in-Council which almost brought us to the verge of civil war and the taunting statement from Mr. Carvel that in a struggle between the Government and the Labor elements the Government would have the aid of the military.

(5) Taxation which protects the interests of the rich and for every dollar it takes from them returns in special privilege four or five dollars.

(6) Increase of freight rates without justification.

(7) Patronage still rampant—joy rides for Cabinet Ministers—and starvation for civil servants and soldiers' dependents.

These add to the joy of life for the big interests amid the thunders of silence of the grain growers. What I seek is activity from these men and especially from their leaders—unless we are to accept the idea that seats in Parliament constitute the end of all things.

Finally Mr. Buckley tells us that the Grain Growers' Guide has done great work. I do not doubt it—youth and adolescence always does. I have admired it in its youth but in its manhood it has become somnolent. It contains many good articles on "Feeding Draft Colts", "Disinfection of Stables", "Ergot in Grain," etc.—excellent things in their place but no man who has been a steady reader can say that it has anything of its old zeal for reform or that it is to be chided now by that fire which in the old days made it a thorn in the flesh to the doors of evil. And the tragic part of it is that its constituency seems pleased with it—proof, I take it, that a change of spirit has come over the Grain Growers and a slight change in their financial position would leave them filled with bliss and peace and sweet content. My only hope for them is that they may continue to agitate and to be filled with a divine discontent. That is the hope for Democracy—if it has any hope. That a kind Providence may prevent the leaders of these great organizations from worshipping the God of things as they are is the earnest wish of

Yours truly,—L. E. CARP.

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THE PASSING SHOW

From our own Correspondent AT OTTAWA

Ottawa, Nov. 12th, 1918.

Peace has come and Sir Robert Borden is now en route for the Peace table. There is reason to believe that his own views on the peace are not antagonistic to President Wilson's, and that he is much more likely to take his stand with General Smuts than with that jingoistic mountebank Mr. Hughes of Australia. But it is a grim joke that he should choose as his companions to represent Canada at the task of making a new world two aged and confirmed reactionaries like Sir George Foster and Mr. Doherty. Mr. Arthur Sifton is far from a perfect representative for the occasion, but he at least is possessed of some ideas and views that post-date the early Victorian era. Mr. Rowell would dearly have loved to have been one of the party and added his contribution to the conglomerate wisdom which will surround the peace table, but his colleagues evidently thought that he had had enough self-advertisement for one year.

O the minor members of the party, Mr. J. W. Robertson who is a man of progressive views and real ideas is much the most creditable representative. Mr. Lloyd Harris and Mr. F. P. Jones will cater for the interests of "big business" in any scramble for reconstruction contracts in France and Belgium which may develop. Labor is represented by that estimable civil servant, Mr. P. M. Draper, whom the Trades and Labor Congress persists in retaining as its secretary; it is just possible that European Socialists like Arthur Henderson and Jean Longuet will raise their eyebrows when they ascertain that the champion of labor from Canada is a well-paid government printer.

Such are our plenipotentiaries and the best we can hope is that they do not seriously disgrace us. It is in the last degree, however, unlike y, that the fate of this battered world will depend upon their desires or decisions. They will be used as window dressing and as such can do little harm or good.

Meanwhile Sir Thomas White is left as Acting Premier and has assured the public in an interview that the Government will continue its labors for the public weal with undiminished zest. Dear old Mr. Crothers has retired to California for good, sped by a pleasant letter from the Premier testifying to his arduous labors and high merits. Mr. Crothers was from the administrative point of view one of the most incompetent of the many incompetent ministers who have adorned Ottawa and should never have been considered possible for a Cabinet seat, but he was a kindly old soul and a long experience of the greed of corporation employers and their unscrupulous tactics brought him to a position of deep sympathy with Labor's point of view. He became violently unpopular with the interests, which was to his credit but he had no real understanding of modern labor problems. He has been succeeded by Senator Gideon Robertson, who has been handling a lot of his work. Senator Robertson knows something about labor questions but he apparently is a past master in the art of sitting on the fence.

It was intended that there should have been a wholesale reorganization of the Cabinet, but it had to be abandoned and the only other changes were in two under-secretary-ships. Mr. McCurdy retired from the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment. Col. Hugh Clark takes his place and to succeed the latter in the

External Affairs Department Mr. F. H. Keefer is brought in. Why, heaven only knows, should a corporation lawyer from Port Arthur be chosen to handle what in the next few years will be a very important department. It was expected that Sir George Foster, Mr. Burrell and some others would depart, and that there would be new blood introduced and some shuffling of portfolios.

The suggested newcomers included Mr. F. Pardee and Mr. F. P. Jones of the Canada Cement Company whom the interests wanted to see in the place of Sir George Foster, now declared by them to be effete and useless. There is little gratitude in public life as Sir George has been their most faithful and consistent servant.

The real obstacle to the changes was simple—it was easy to make the appointments to the Cabinet but the difficulty lay in selecting the ministers in the present temper of the country. Mr. Pardee's seat in Lambton has long been Liberal and he probably decided that a contest would be a disastrous venture, especially in the absence of any real issue save the merits of Union Government, for which the electorate show scant signs of appreciations. Governmental circles have not failed to note the results of recent by-elections which demonstrate that the attachment of the Unionist label is sufficient to ensure a candidate a handsome minority. From Halifax to Vancouver the unpopularity of the Union Government increases day by day; its most ardent supporters of last December are now its bitterest critics. The daily press still hymns its praises but most of the men who write the editorial encomiums damn it vigorously in private. It was at the best a makeshift and had not in it the elements of satisfactory permanence. Most impartial observers think that it has no real future and that the next session will see its dissolution and decay. No government in recent times in any Anglo-Saxon country has frittered away its strength and popularity with such rapidity.

Some of its admirers declare that a government in war-time, which is popular is useless, but Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Wilson have all retained for their administrations a wide volume of popular support. It would however be wrong to imagine that there will be no effort made to preserve the Unionist combination. There are many interests and several people who regard it as their only hope for the future. It is understood that Mr. Meighen and Mr. Calder are both now convinced of the necessity of its perpetuation and Mr. Rowell certainly is. Mr. Meighen realizes that as a straight conservative he has very little political future in the West and he has earned the dislike of Mr. Robert Rogers and the stern unbending Tories. Mr. Calder was very much perturbed by the outspoken hostility to the administration which he found prevalent in his bailiwick of Saskatchewan and found that his erstwhile flock were more inclined to accept the shepherdship of Mr. C. A. Dunning. Mr. Calder is also far from popular with the French-Canadians, who feel that they went down to defeat in 1911 to support his pet scheme of reciprocity and have been ill-repaid for their pains for which circumstance they lay the blame on Mr. Calder. As a result he foresees that his weight in the future councils of the Liberal party is unlikely to be pre-eminently

strong. Mr. Rowell has no avenue of escape from Toryism—men neither like him personally or trust him as a political leader but the interests might find him a useful catspaw. These three are said to be working out plans to buttress the Unionist alliance. They will introduce new blood, efficient business men like Mr. F. P. Jones, probably offer a dose of public ownership and schemes of soldiers land settlement and attempt such modifications of the tariff as they can induce Toronto and Hamilton to agree to. Part of their programme would be to obtain the co-operation of some distinguished general like Sir Arthur Currie, who would attract the soldiers' vote. Nominally they would pose as a party of moderate reform but in reality they would be engaged in a successful attempt to consolidate the plutocratic position. To use a military metaphor, they would give up certain ground to secure a better line of defence.

In this scheme of things Messrs. Curriel and Crerar have little share. They are the only really sincere radicals in the Cabinet, though Mr. Curriel's utterances often seem to belie the claim. They probably look to a reconsolidation of the progressive forces in the country under new inspiration and leadership. Sir Robert Borden may not continue long in politics. It is said that the aged Sir Louis Davies who was recently appointed Chief Justice is merely keeping the place warm for Sir Robert who could combine the post with a seat on the Privy Council Bench and a peerage which goes with it. Sir Robert by skillful manoeuvring staved off the day of doom once but he knows it cannot be forever delayed. He probably also knows that the issues between plutocratic oligarchy and democracy are to be settled in Canada to be settled by a compromise such as Messrs. Calder and Meighen plan; they must go forward to the test of a political battle.

As for the other members of the Cabinet, Tory and Liberal, it is a matter of no account what they think or plan and probably they very rarely do either. For all the influence they will ever exercise in years to come they might as well join the Young Turks or the Carlists of Spain. The Liberals remain quiescent and watch the troubles of the Unionists with a certain silent glee. The real hope of the future for Canada lies in the creation of a true people's party, which will rescue her from the ravenous maw of plutocracy and translate the new aspirations of her plain folk into reality by swift and far-reaching reforms.

—BYSTANDER.

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The Labor Movement

THE "NO STRIKE" ORDER-IN-COUNCIL

By Alex. Ross, M.L.A.



The President of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has demanded the repeal of the "No Strike" Order-in-Council. As yet no reply has been made and considerable speculation prevails as to what the Government's intentions are.

The resignation of the Minister of Labor would indicate that Premier Borden is in a dilemma. He believes that Crothers has become so unpopular, that by demanding his resignation he would at least appease the wrath of labor to some extent. The ex-Minister of Labor served his master faithfully. He represented the Tory outlook and it is questionable whether any other member of the Ottawa aggregation could have filled the position better. Crothers often claimed privately that he would have liked to do far more for labor, but was handicapped by his associates. When the Government discovered that the "No Strike Order" was unpopular the ex-Minister was blamed; he, however, denied his responsibility and also further that he was opposed to such legislation.

It has been openly hinted that the newly appointed Minister of Labor suggested the historical Order. Whether Senator Robertson instigated this legislation or not, the very fact of his associating with a Government that passed such legislation will place him in a position where he can never hope to have the confidence of the working class of Canada. If it is true that the Senator is responsible, then the Government could not do better than give him the opportunity of enforcing his handiwork. Calgary already provided the opportunity for its enforcement but somehow Ottawa hesitated.

Why, in the light of the experience of other countries, any effort should be made by the Government to bring labor to a state of involuntary servitude can probably be best explained by their close association with the Canadian manufacturers. A similar effort was made in the U.S.A. but labor's opposition was so strong that the idea was abandoned. The Munitions Act of Great Britain was designed to serve a similar purpose but failed, yet the Canadian Government, at this belated hour on the threshold of peace, would experiment with such dangerous legislation. Labor in Canada has accepted the challenge and the first prosecution under the "Order" will bring a storm of protest from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

That labor has done its share in the prosecution of the war needs no proof, but if proof is required let us take an extract from the Canadian Official Record of October 1st, which publishes an eulogistic report of labor's war efforts in Canada, under the direction of the ex-minister just one week before the "No Strike" order was passed:—

"We are really fortunate by comparison with other countries. During the first two years of the war Canada was remarkably free from industrial troubles. Perhaps to Australia and the United States we might naturally look to find industrial conditions on a parity with our own.

During those two years the State of New South Wales, a country with less than one-quarter of the population of Canada, had many times the losses of Canada, estimating these losses in working days and workmen's wages. The situation was less favorable for Canada in 1917, but turning to Australia as a whole we find that, while the disputes with us during that year numbered 148 and concerned 48,000 employees, with strike losses in working days of 1,135,000, the official figures for Australia for nine months only showed 425 disputes, involving 170,000 employees, with time losses of over 4,000,000 days. When we take the difference of population and the difference in industrial organization, the contrast is strikingly in our favor.

There are no official figures for the United States for the last year or two, but for 1915 and 1916, whereas the strikes in Canada totalled 118, those for the United States numbered 4,858, or just forty-one times the Canadian aggregate, representing a result in a country with over twelve times our population. An equally good, if not better fortune for us, can be shown by comparison with official figures from Great Britain."

The next issue of this official journal contained a statement that the Government had decided there must be no more strikes. The headline of this illuminating article must have been written by a modern editor, one who could qualify for a position in Southam's local—The Herald. The head line reads:—"Employers And Unions Both Agreed Against War Strikes. The Order-in-Council Does Not Curtail The Liberty of The Worker." Then follows the explanation of the famous Order which is all aimed at placing labor in a ridiculous position.

The statement that employers agreed there should be no strike during the war is probably correct, employers are very seldom in favor of a strike. The official recorder, however, cannot produce evidence that labor did at any time agree that there should be no strikes for the period of war. Labor pledged itself to co-operate with the Government on certain conditions but never to surrender their only weapon of defence against organized capital. That labor fulfilled its share of the contract since the war began has been acknowledged in the official record, but the same cannot be said of the Government.

Many questions were submitted to the Labor Conference by the Government but seldom if ever has the suggestions been accepted. One question was how the Lines of Transportation and Communication could be maintained in the highest state of efficiency. Labor's reply was—nationalize the railways and guarantee the employees a living wage. The conference also rejected a suggestion from the Government that the criminal code be amended to apply to unemployed, making unemployment a criminal offence. Contrary to the desire of the conference the Anti-Loafing Law has been put into effect with the result that many workmen temporarily unemployed have been harassed by over-zealous policemen and petty local magistrates. I can recall one case in particular where a man who had that day been discharged from a ploughing outfit, was hauled before a justice of the peace and fined twenty dollars. There were many such prosecutions in the West and when an appeal was lodged in Ottawa against such abuses cold officialdom replied: The Government have accused labor in Canada of committing a breach of

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faith and justify the Order-in-Council on these grounds.

Such a policy can only be construed to mean a declaration of war against trades unions. We hope the trades unionists in Canada are prepared to meet it. Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Action must be maintained at all costs. Autocracy in Canada must disappear with autocracy in Europe.

—ALEX. ROSS.

Read the I.W.W. Methods in
Glambeck's Article. Page 7.

"Politics is the business of the people"



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There is no wealth but life. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings.—Ruskin.

THE JOY OF PEACE

The signing of the Armistice brought general rejoicing in Canada. For over four years the people have borne the great burden and loss such a tremendous conflict involved, and when the news of the fighting had ceased and the prospect of peace had come, the people felt the burden had dropped and drew a full free breath once more.

But many rejoiced with tears. The hilarity which the moment invited was not for them, because the joy of their lives lie beneath the sod in Europe. While the approaching peace is acclaimed the unspeakable tragedy of the last four years cannot be forgotten.

There is only one thought that can bring joy to the hearts of the many bereaved ones. That is the hope that this war will be the last; that the peace for which men have bled and died for will be lasting. If the Allied Nations remain true to their declared aims, the mothers who have lost their sons and the wives who have given their husbands will have the joy of knowing that through the sacrifice of their loved ones it will never be necessary for men to slay each other again.

GERMAN DEMOCRACY IS BORN

The greatest war of all history is drawing speedily to a close by the downfall of those principles and personal ties which make war inevitable. This war has been fought for Democracy, and therefore we may safely assume that the nation that gets democracy as a result of the war has won, no matter what may have been the result in the field.

By the abdication of the Kaiser, the renunciation of the Crown by

the heir apparent, and the establishment of a people's government Germany has become a democracy. Although she has been defeated at her own military game, and is being forced to swallow her own philosophy that might is right through the unconditional acceptance of the allied terms Germany has won democracy, and therefore has won all that the Allies in their declarations themselves ever hoped to win. Although this accomplishment may have been dearly bought by the expenditure of blood and resources, and may not be considered a fit recompense for such world sacrifice, yet it will be considered in subsequent history as one of the good fruits of the war.

But the strange thing about all this is that while the Allies have been successful in the field, and their efforts have been crowned with victory, it does not follow that they will win democracy, which was and is the announced purpose of their struggle. It is the duty of the various nations that have shared in the overthrow of German autocracy to overthrow whatever measure of autocracy may exist within their own borders. We are fast approaching that time when Kaiserism which still lifts its head even in Canada must be done away with.

May we not hope that those of us who are burning the effigy of the Kaiser in bon-fires to-day will in the near future be lighting bon-fires in our rejoicing over the downfall of the Canadian Kaisers of Party Privilege and Profit.

WILL THE UNION GOVERNMENT ABDICATE?

The Union Government was elected for the express purpose of winning the war; it had no programme, and consequently no mandate from the people of Canada to deal with the important work of reconstruction after the war. With regard to the winning of the war the Union Government has blundered through, and has been tolerated by a long-suffering people because they were patriotic, and did not desire a political upheaval during the crisis. There is evidence that there are not a few members of the Government itself who have been driven almost to the point of breaking away, but have been held in check by the fear of disruption. But it is clear that when questions of far-reaching economic import have to be dealt with after the war that the Union Government will lose its unity, which unity at its best was never more than a surface affair presumed to be good for the country during war time.

It seems to be a general truth that the government which controls the affairs of a country during war seldom if ever remains in power afterward. This is more in evidence in this war than in any other. The spirit of revolt is as catching as the "Flu" and is spreading faster than is good for the comfort of certain individuals. Russia was the first to take it, and now it is epidemic throughout Europe. Is it likely that Canada will escape?

* * *

THE NEW DEMOCRACY IN CANADA

The Labor Party in Great Britain bids fair to give a new direction to the

political and economic destiny of the home land, while the hand-writing is on the wall in so far as the war party of the United States is concerned. We may safely assume that Canada's turn will come, and we must be prepared to give intelligent direction to the new spirit of democracy.

Nothing short of the economic revolution which the Methodist Conference pledged itself to support will satisfy in Canada. But this requires great preparation, organization and leadership. It is time for the democratic organizations and forces of this country to get together and formulate the programme for the new democracy in Canada.

* * *

NATIONALIZING THE MEDICAL PROFESSION

The epidemic known as the "Spanish Flu", which has ridden rough shod over so many Canadian homes has like the great war, compelled us to see our weakness through tears and sorrow. The great war put many of our boasted institutions to a test so severe as to overthrow them and render imperatively necessary the building of new institutions to more adequately meet human demands. In a similar manner the common danger from a plague pointed out to us that the old way of dealing with the matter of public health can no longer be tolerated.

Prevention from disease must be the aim of every effort put forth by the medical profession. The curing of any disease may be very much doubted, but that by observation of the laws of health, disease may be avoided no one doubts. As things are now, the knowledge necessary to health is very largely in the medical profession, who make their living from those who are unhealthy, and consequently have no incentive to undertake a nation-wide programme for the prevention of ill health. Thus the doctors are a number of individuals who do their best to patch up an unfortunate

mortal who has become a victim to preventable disease, but they have no obligation to safe-guard the health of a nation, and no organization to safeguard it with. This has been demonstrated by the "Flu" epidemic; and every district where the plague has entered an organization both for the care of the stricken, and for the prevention of the disease has been attempted. The way has therefore been opened for a complete change of aim and organization with respect to the forces available for the protection of human health and life.

This way points to the nationalization of the medical profession. The state must assume responsibility for the health of the people, and must take complete control of the institutions necessary. Hospitals must be publicly owned and built wherever necessary, doctors must be organized to protect the public from disease, and must be in the pay of the Government. Instead of a doctor being paid by people who are sick he will be paid by the Government for keeping people well, and his most important function in a community must be to educate the people in the laws of health and to see to the enforcement of every legislative act respecting health. This is one of the reforms that is urgently needed. The conditions revealed by the "Flu" are taking place continually although not the same extent. If every doctor that is needed receives a salary in keeping with the service he renders they need not worry, and if the people demand this reform there is no reason in the world why it should not be accomplished.

* * *

A WEAK MOVE The Prime Minister evidently hopes to avert a turn over in politics by discharging from his Cabinet men like Thos. Crothers, Minister of Labor. He fails to see that no man can do justice to labor under present conditions, if he did, the chief owners of the Union Government would be seriously perturbed.

We have no doubt that Senator Robertson is an abler man for the position than his predecessor, but we know that he is just as powerless to serve the real interests of labor as Mr. Crothers.

What we need in Canada is a People's Government. Everybody here seems pleased that a People's Government in Germany has been formed. Why not try the same kind of a government in Canada, and then have a true Minister of Labor? No petty changes such as replacing Crothers by a Senator will ward off the coming upheaval in this country. This weak move is easily seen through.

THE GREAT OPPORTUNITY We are now in the midst of the most important events in history; the war is drawing to a close, and we are approaching a settlement; the terms of that settlement will be such as will either lay the foundation for future wars, or will assure for the future permanent peace for the world.

So far there is no evidence that the peace terms are to differ from other settlements either in the nature of the terms or in the manner in which they will be put into effect. The Allies are the greater military power and have arrived at the position where they can enforce their demands upon the enemy; all the talk about Democracy and a League of Nations has been dropped suddenly while the whole matter of an armistice has been left to General Foch.

The great question now is—will the Allied leaders measure up to the world's expectation? The task to be accomplished is most difficult, and the fact that we have overcome the enemy and are in a position to impose our own terms means that the allied nations are about to pass through a most severe moral test. All other nations which have worn the laurels of the conqueror in the past have exercised their prerogatives of power in such a manner as to inflict punishments upon the conquered to an extent that ultimately paved the way for more war.

What then will be the Allied peace terms? Will they be worthy of nations that have assumed the moral leadership of the world? Will Freedom for the World, Democracy, the rights of small nations, the freedom of the seas, disarmament and a supernational court for the maintaining of future peace be ensured? These are the great principles we have sacrificed and fought for, and the glory of victory should not push them into the background, for if we forget these we will lose morally more than military power can ever redeem.

The Allied Nations have upon their shoulders a tremendous responsibility; they have an opportunity to serve the whole human race, and if they rise to the measure of their opportunity in the making of peace they will cover themselves with far more glory than will be credited to them for the defeating of Germany. Peace must be made in the interests of humanity. If we proceed to make peace through individual diplomats called to their positions by autocratic authority there is grave dangers that the great principles for which our men have died will be forgotten.

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Why Political Action Is Necessary

By John Glambeck, Sect'y Queenstown U.F.A.



There is cheering signs of a healthy awakening along independent political lines both among farmers and industrial workers. Now that the conservative farmers of Ontario have started to grasp its importance, it is more than certain other Eastern provinces will follow their lead, and with the West becoming more and more alive as a political factor, we can in a few years begin to look for the voice of the farmer and worker to ring in the legislative halls of the Dominion on behalf of the producers and consumers in the country.

But this will not come until we can get the great majority to recognize the importance of taking political action. Too many to-day are politically dead. They do not think there is any connection between their daily troubles and politics. A great number look upon politics as something that do not concern them at all, and look upon politicians as a dirty grafting lot. They think that as long as these politicians play the dirty game, and incidentally run the country, why should they, the farmers, bother their heads about it. Their time is too much taken up in making a living. Politics means nothing to them.

The political activity of most farmers amount to attending a political meeting or two right before election and vote the Liberal or Conservative ticket because their fathers did the same before them. They have to vote for somebody, so what's the odds, they don't expect anything great to come from it and nothing does—only harm to themselves and the country at large.

On the other hand, the big interests and big business men of the country take a very lively interest in politics, it's not too dirty for them to touch. They are keen enough to realize that their real power depends on their political control of the country. For it is an absolute indisputable fact that their power is political rather than industrial, that is, they use the political power in their possession to gain their industrial power. And the very moment the farmers and workers awake to the full knowledge of the immense power they have gained, if they agree to stand together it will be all up with the industrial power now held by the great financial magnates.

Big interests care nothing about which political party gets elected as long as they can control that party, hence they generally contribute to the campaign funds of both. This has been proven absolutely true in the States and would no doubt be true in Canada also.

Before taking up farming twelve years ago, I lived twenty-five years in the City of Chicago as a wage-worker and as a salaried employee in the Civil Service. I always belonged to a workers' union and when there was not one I tried to organize one. I realized the importance of trade unions, but also realized it was only one part of the defence of the workers. It was plain to me that if the workers were to obtain any great benefit from our modern system of production their trade union movement must be supplemented by independent political action.

Attending as a delegate the Trades and Labor Assemblies, a central body composed from the various labor unions in Chicago, I used to be astounded to find the prominent labor leaders and delegates were not only staunch Republican or Democrat, but that around election time they were actually engaged as henchmen for one or the other of the two old political party machines, even using their official standing and eloquence to pull the wool over the eyes of the rank and file of their fellow workers and delivering their votes to the old party bosses. I could never comprehend how on earth workers should organize to fight their employers and then on election day drop their differences and put their arms round the enemy's neck by casting their votes for the very candidates the bosses had picked out to further their own interest. How they could expect any beneficial results to themselves is beyond me.

Just to show how the employers' political control works out in real practice: "Suppose the workers in a certain industry decide to form a union. As soon as a majority joins a committee is sent to interview the employers and ask to have the union recognized and to get a raise in wages. But business is run to secure big dividends and as higher wages would mean reduced profit, the workers are usually told their union cannot be recognized nor will their wages be increased and if they are dissatisfied they can quit. The result is a strike and the bosses then start in to engage non-union men who are known as scabs. As the bosses control the civic government the mayor is notified to furnish police to protect property—the employer's property. As the men own no property they need no protection. The workers seeing their jobs filled by other men, and knowing that this job is all that stands between them and starvation, at once become active and decide to fight. Pickets are posted and moral persuasion is first tried on the scabs. That fails, then trouble starts and in the heat of passion some get hurt and it may happen someone gets killed.

The city police fail to keep order and the bosses who also own the State Government, sends for the State Militia, and as a last resort for the Federal troops, and that settles things. Only once in a while is a strike won by the men and that only in times like the past two years when idle workers are scarce. During the strike a few leaders and turbulent fellows are gathered in and put in jail, and then the bosses make good use of another branch of the Government they control—the Judiciary—and the victims get a few years in the penitentiary."

The leaders of the Industrial Workers of the World especially get this treatment. They do not believe in independent political action and whenever the workers who do believe in it have asked for their co-operation, the I.W.W.s have laughed at them and called them political fools, etc., etc. This is often where ignorant editors and their backers go astray when they dub every labor man who agitates for better conditions as an I.W.W. They call the farmers that when it suits them so to do, but people are now getting better read and understand when such terms are misapplied.

No, the I.W.W.s believe in sabotage, general strike, direct discolation of industry, they would fight the employers on the industrial field. They forget that

the employers with their control of the Government, the Army, Navy, Police and Courts, could crush them whenever it gets to a show down. The big employers have waited their chance and it came directly the United States entered the war. The I.W.W.s were aggressive and obstructive, the Federal Government was notified the harvest was ripe and that the time was come to throw out the drag net. This was done and all the most prominent and turbulent spirits were arrested, given a sort of trial in Chicago, and some given up to twenty years in the Pen.

Sad but true. Let us hope that these poor deluded fellows not only will be set free long before their term expires, but that they will have learned the lesson that political action is the one important thing after all for the workers.

To return to the farmers. When we, in the farmers' unions, have decided to co-operate, put our dollars together and send for a carload of goods, we have cut out the profit of middlemen and done a good turn to ourselves. But don't forget the goods was bought from some concern who were able to set their own price. At any rate it was freighted over a privately owned railway, whose owners, through their political power could charge exorbitant freight rates.

When we go to our own company, the U.G.G., and buy machinery we get good machinery and perhaps for less than we would have to pay the old line companies. But whether that machinery was bought in Canada or in the States it had to be bought from some combination that could set their own price and the protective tariff was added to that price, and it had to come over the privately-owned railway. So the amount saved is small. And when we have organized our strength and forced the Provincial Governments to recognize us and grant little concessions, it is all very good, but don't forget it is the real big things we must get after.

Those demands that would interfere with the profits of big business, we will never get until we obtain political power. When the war came the Government decided to set the price of wheat and offered the farmers \$1.40 per bushel. The organized farmers objected and sent representatives to Ottawa. When these succeeded in effecting a compromise of \$2.21 per bushel, it was a good thing for all and if for no other reason every farmer in the land should join the farmers' organization.

But what the organized farmers did not do, and could not do, was to prevent the big business interests of the country raising the price, aye, doubling and trebling the price of everything the farmer needed and had to buy in order to raise that wheat. Our power stopped short, so we were little better off with wheat at \$2.20 than we were when wheat was cheaper.

The Farmers' Industrial Organization is a good thing and every farmer should belong to it, but just as the workers' industrial unions is only one part of their defence so likewise is the farmers'. If we are to obtain any great and lasting benefits our industrial unions must be supplemented with independent political action.

I challenge any of my fellow members in the U.F.A. who still hopefully cling to the old parties—or even to the Union party,—to show that my position is wrong, and I am willing to meet them on any platform and defend my position.

—JOHN GLAMBECK.

"Have YOU any Influence? How do YOU use it? Read Pages 8-10.

The Non Partisan Movement

AN APPRECIATION OF

HARRY JOHNSON

It is our painful duty to be called upon by sense of obligation to write an appreciation of one of our most enthusiastic workers in the Non-Partisan Movement, who succumbed to the plague that is now sweeping over this country. Harry Johnson, of Alderson, who died in hospital at Edmonton on Oct. 29th, was one of the outstanding figures in the Non Partisan League. Having been one of the prime movers, and having occupied a position on the executive board from the inception of the organization to the day of his death, he was known throughout the Province, and welcomed wherever he went. His gift of speech on the public platform, his quick wit, and genial personality, were his chief assets and by them he was able to reach the hearts of the people.

But it would be our desire to write of him more as a personal friend whom we knew, and could trust and appreciate, and in doing this we will not multiply words in a vain attempt to express the deepest feelings of the human heart. Words fail, and were it not for custom's sake we would be silent, and inwardly cherish in happy memory the fellowship so richly enjoyed with our much respected and departed friend. We therefore do not attempt to write a eulogy, although the character and gifts of our friend would merit it, but we wish to express our appreciation of his efforts, and his friendship, and to give utterance to the sense of loss we experience when we realize that Harry is no longer with us.

We have spoken of Harry Johnson as our "friend." To be a friend one must both understand and be understood, and by this mutual knowledge of each other true friendship is born. Through the death of Harry Johnson we have lost a friend that was staunch and true, and life will not be just the same for us now that he is gone. But if this is all that is in life, namely, bemoaning our loss, then would despair be our portion. Rather then do we turn with gratitude to the eternal aspect of human fellowship, and frankly admit that we are better, and this Province is better, because such a man lived here and spent his life in service amongst us.

That nothing is ever really lost in the great economy of universal law is our fundamental belief; and while we mourn, and deplore the loss of our friend yet in a very real sense his spirit remains with us to inspire and encourage. Harry Johnson was a true champion of Liberty not only in economic and political matters, but also in the supreme matter of intellectual liberty. As such he was the fearless opponent of wrong or injustice wherever he found it, and he promulgated the gospel of democracy with a whole-hearted enthusiasm that will be reflected in our public life long after his name has been forgotten. We can express no greater appreciation of our friend's life than by taking up his work where he left it, and in spending ourselves in the effort to further the principles, for which he labored so nobly.

We wish to extend our sympathy

to the mother and brother around whom this cloud of sorrow has gathered, and wish them also to know that we mourn with them the loss of a dear friend.

—The Editor.



The Late Harry Johnson

"WHY NO POLITICS?"

By James Weir, M.L.A.

"The Old Order Changeth: Giving Place to New"



In paying my respects to Mr. Dunham in the last issue, I lacked the space to deal with his reference to the farmers' parties that had such a brief and, in his opinion, inglorious existence. He referred to the Farmers' Alliance of the 80's, and I presume he included in it the Populist Party which was in some measure

its outgrowth. His contention is that the entry of the Alliance into politics was the sole cause of its untimely demise. It was no such thing. The death of the Alliance was due, as was that of the patrons in Ontario, and the old Granger party there, to the supineness of its leaders and the smug complacency of men prominent in the organizations who were "got to," by wily partisan politicians, almost exclusively lawyers, who induced these self-seeking false guides to desert when they didn't sell out and betray their trusting followers.

The fact that what the farmers' organizations advocated in the 80's has been introduced in the platforms of the old parties as advanced legislation shows the grasp and initiative of the agrarians of those days, and likewise it shows that they waited thirty years to get the results that might have been obtained in ten had they maintained their organizations and done for themselves what they delegated the power to others to do. We believe rather in the homely policy of old Abe: "Resolved, that we need a ditch. Resolved, that we dig the ditch."

The old Populists who were sneered at, spat at, cursed at, laughed at, dubbed "Corporation Baiters" and other vile names, left an impression nevertheless on the body politic of the Great Republic that has not even yet begun seriously to fade. In the last presidential election when the returns from the large centres, the homes and haunts of Big Business came in, it was all "Hughes", but when the voice of the great Agrarian population of the West was heard, where bread of the Populists had been cast upon the waters thirty years before, a different result was acclaimed, and those disciples of the men in whom Mr. Dunham finds so little to appreciate, elected to the Presidential Chair the greatest man who has occupied that high honor since Lincoln.

The very fact that the Farmers' Alliance disbanded, and the Patron Movement—died before their ends were gained, is the greatest of all reasons why at this hour the Alberta farmer should espouse the best means of getting direct political action along the lines of economic justice and fairness. Think you the Big Interests did not make great and rapid strides toward Special Privilege when these movements ceased to be active? The most casual observer must see that what has been gained by the farmer by the very small measure of class cohesion which he has maintained within the Democratic Party in the States and the Liberal Party here would have been tenfold had a balance of power been attained under a distinctive Agrarian alignment.

And does it follow that because the Patron and Populist movements in the 80's lacked continuity and permanence, we should quietly fold our hands and meekly submit to the doctrine of despair? Do not "New occasions teach new duties," as in Lowell's time? Did the Allies ever admit even in the face of seeming disaster and hopelessness that the German War machine was invincible? Must we throw the amulet of our heritage won by our fathers and mothers through the long years of toil, hardship, sacrifice and suffering away without striking one blow for economic liberty because the movements of the 80's, in the opinion of Mr. Dunham, failed of fruition. Is there for the farmers' fight against injustice, unfairness and imposition, no glad tomorrow? Must we plead from within the old parties that they be merciful?

Mr. Dunham's reference to the farmers' movement of the past, and the remark applies with equal force to the Non-Partisan Movement of the present, may be answered in this one sentence: "The outcome is of secondary importance but how did you fight?"

"O freedom! thou art not as poets dream,
A fair young girl with delicate limbs
And many tresses gushing from the cap
With which the Roman master crowned
his slave,
When he took off the gyves. A bearded
man,
Arm'd to the teeth, art thou! One mailed
hand
Grasps thy broad shield, and one the sword!
thy brow,
Glorious in beauty though it be, is scar'd
With tokens of old wars! thy massive
limbs
Are strong with struggling. . . Oh! not yet,
Mayst thou unbrace thy corselet nor lay by
Thy sword; nor yet, O Freedom! close
thy lids
In slumber; for thine enemy never sleeps,
And thou must watch and combat till the
day. . . Of the new earth and heaven."
—JAMES WEIR.

HOW IT WORKS OUT



"INFLUENCE" Does Not Load the Tables—"POLITICS" Does!

ECHOES FROM ONTARIO

"Canada's rural people must clean house," says Secty. J. J. Morrison.

"FARMER'S CAN STICK."

The Farmers of Manitoulin have killed the bogey that "farmers' won't stick."

They went to the election as they go to a "threshing" or to a "bee," and did their duty quietly and thoroughly.

Ben Bowman's support came from his fellow farmers regardless of former political bias, and his majority was sufficiently large to be emphatic.

All the influence of the government exerted to the utmost, could not shake the farmers, who had neither election experience, political machinery, patronage or funds. YET THEY WON.

The farmers' demand is for fair parliamentary representation for their industry without being subservient to any party machine, and all fair-minded urban people admit their claim and do not object.

Four cabinet ministers with the chief political organizer campaigned the riding. To use a homely phrase, they never reached "the cockles of the heart" of the people, and were met with stolid indifference everywhere.

There was several reasons for their failure to reach the people. Premier Hearst invariably used the phrase, "My Government." This angered the electors, one saying, "You would think he was the Kaiser himself."

Another mistake was the emphasis laid on the patronage appeal; the intelligent electorate now look for enlightenment on questions that go far deeper.

Then, again, Premier Hearst played right into our hands when he said, "Mr. Bowman, if elected, could not sit with the Government, and there was no place for him with the Liberals."

He would have no standing at all in the House."

It was exactly what we wanted for we told the electors we did not want him with either of the old parties, but as a representative of agriculture. "And if there is no place for him to sit in the House, he shall take along his milking stool and sit on that !!!"

The Premier blundered when he declared there would have been no election but for the farmers. We accepted it as true. "The two old party machines wanted to go on naming members of the House without any reference to the people, BUT WE WOULD NOT ALLOW IT!"

The mixing of Dominion and Provincial issues was charged to us, and our obvious reply was the mixing began when the Provincial authorities stood behind the Dominion in violating a sacred promise made to the farmers of Canada on the eve of the last Federal election.

The result shows that farmers are thinking; it shows what they can do when organized and united. Farmers travelled miles to vote in a continuous downpour of rain, and they won out.

It is an indication of the change coming, of a desire for more democratic conditions. Manitoulin has set the pace for rural Ontario. Its the handwriting on the wall!

Canada's public affairs are in a terrible mess, her public men have been weighed in the balance and found wanting.

Canada's rural people, men and women, must clean house. They have started in Manitoulin. Watch for the next.—J. J. Morrison, Secty. U. F. O., in the Weekly Sun.

Every farmer should read Glambeck's Article on Page 7.

THE FARMERS' VICTORY

Bowman was a U. F. O. candidate and polled 70 per cent. of the rural vote.

The women were so much interested as the men, and being freer from political bias in many cases voted against their husbands.

Ben Bowman is a farmer, 32 years of age, with NO experience in politics, but possessed good judgment, pleasing personality, and as the result showed "winning ways." His supporters had organizations in only 9 out of 40 polling places in the district.

His platform included public ownership and operation of public utilities, civil service reform, abolition of ALL patronage, direct legislation. It appealed against partyism as the source of the evils of political life, and proposed to substitute equitable representation of the important interests of the country.

Evidently the platform appealed to the electors who at first were apathetic and clung to their old political prejudices and affiliations.

Literature, platform work and personal canvassing produced the desired result. Many farmers developed into successful campaign speakers and did excellent voluntary work.

The Military Service Act had loosened the ties which bound electors to former parties and political leaders. This made the people receptive and responsive to new appeals, and was an important factor.

It was an exciting election day. Here were farmers who had actually raised their heads in self-defence and had thrown their partyism to the winds, coolly, determinedly, and self-respectingly, doing their utmost to bring in their voters as men coming into their own.

Now, the farmers are to-day rejoicing, somewhat as emancipated people do, because they feel the shackles of partyism have to a great degree been thrown off, and also that they have shown what farmers can do to assert their rights when they stick together to do so.—L. L., in the Weekly Sun.

Read "Our Ottawa Letter"—page 12.

The Non Partisan Letter Box

Avoid long letters—300 to 400 words are quickest read. Send them in.

HOW TO USE "OUR INFLUENCE"

Veteran, Alta., Nov. 9th, 1918.
Editor, ALBERTA NON-PARTISAN:—

A very important subject has been discussed by Mr. Dunham. It is a subject that should be kept before the people until we find out the best method.

We have a commercial, educational, and political influence to be used either by our own organizations, or by some other organization. We are using our commercial influence through our own organization, the U.G.G., and making a very good success, much better than expected by some.

Our educational and political influence is not what it should be. If the first is right then we should use our influence for the others directly through organizations owned and controlled by us. The alternative is to use our influence through some one else's (party) organizations as in the past. We are divided then.

Let us take warning from the past history of the farmers' movement in both Canada and United States, and have some direct way of using our influence. The more direct our influence is applied the more economical it is to us in the end, it matters not whether commercial, political, or educational.

Now let us examine some of our arguments or rather would-be-arguments—

1st—We claim the women should use their influence direct by their vote, and not by trying to influence their husbands.

2nd—In the next breath we advise our members to use their influence indirectly through some political party controlled and financed by some person or persons whom we know not.

Either the first or second advice is logically wrong.

Wherever our influence is used directly through our own organization it has been a success both in Canada and the United States. There is no way of judging the future but by the past, and judging by the past we must emphatically have our own organizations so we can use our influence through them.

In the States the Populist farmer movement nominated the same candidate for President as the Democratic Party. As soon as they went into partnership with a stronger organization they failed. But even then it was more of a success than in the East where they stayed out of Politics.

We find from that the organization's failure was due both politically and commercially to using some other organization than their own in trying to get political and commercial justice, and its failure from an educational standpoint was due to lack of co-operation. Now, the farmers, during the past two years have started to get control of the state governments through their own political organization, and are making great headway against bitter opposition.

Our political influence at present is nil. Mr. Dunham claims the reason the farmers' movement failed in the United States was on account of going into politics. I happened to be a member of the Farmers' Alliance at that time, in Ohio. They did not go into politics but the movement went down the same as in places where they went into politics, so if going into politics killed it in the West, why not say not going into politics killed it in the East.

The fact is the movement was a success politically as long as they used their own organization. That is the lesson for us.

—W. E. MOBBERY.

CARRY ON THE GREAT WORK!

A Fine Appreciation!

Carseland, Alta., Nov. 11, 1918
Editor, ALBERTA NON-PARTISAN:—

Yes, it must be like others say, that each issue of THE NON-PARTISAN is getting better and better, for each issue seems to outflank the other and it certainly is more deserving to be read than it is. Farmers especially who are not reading it, don't know what they are missing. There is always room for improvement and it is to be hoped that the editor will keep up his good work and we will soon have one of the finest magazines in the West.

That little line here and there—Read article on page—whatever it may be, is very attracting, and makes one curious to read as to what it might be. In the same way, why wouldn't it be a good idea to make some attraction on the outside in fairly large type, say across the top, such as: "You ought to read what Glambeck says," or whatever article you want to draw special attention to.

A number might be sold on the streets. The boys will have to cry something different from war news pretty soon, as that great game is now over. The article from Mr. Buckley proved very interesting and I am looking forward to Mr. Carp's reply, as a debate cannot but do good, and might bring some valuable pointers to light and be an eye-opener to many, and at the same time may mean some greater gain in our great forward movement.

Trusting THE NON-PARTISAN will not slow up in its great efforts in bringing to light our most progressive men and thereby help to get rid of that iron grip that has held Canada back so long.

Yours truly,
—H. P. HEBBES.

PUBLIC CONTROL VERSUS PRIVATE OWNERSHIP

Editor, ALBERTA NON-PARTISAN:—

Some years ago A. L. Sifton, during an election campaign, told us that to develop this country, we needed more industries which would thus employ more men and create better home markets. To do this it was necessary to interest foreign Capital!!!

Our boys are giving their lives, their health and youth to make the world safe for democracy, one of its cornerstones Industrial freedom; and here was our premier, telling us how by handing our country over to the "profiteer" we were going to gain prosperity. Aye, Mr. Sifton, very true; but only for the profiteer, for whatever development is given to the country is brought about by the labor of its citizens, the capitalist, according to my closest observation, never developed anything but the misery of the wage-working class. Strikes and lockouts; lockouts and strikes, with business stagnation and parliamentary corruption are the invariable results of profit-making industries.

Just look at the "public control" of the railroads in the States, and this is not democratic ownership as yet—no, not by long odds. What have they accomplished in seven months?

First, they have fulfilled the purpose of the control, and carried all war supplies and materials to seaboard, so that the All-Highest is to-day out of office and peace assured. Such results the clashing interests of capitalism could not have accomplished.

As an instance, 20 million more tons of coal were hauled than in the previous six months. Instead of having a strike to obtain better wages, the wage-earners had the work-day shortened to eight hours, and their pay increased by \$300,000 annually; while 400 highly-salaried officers were considered useless and an annual saving accomplished of \$4,619,880. In wiping out legal expenses, unnecessary and costly advertising, competing ticket offices, soliciting agents and lobbyists to obtain legislation adverse to the public good, \$32,060,000 has been saved.

The private owners, in order to make dividends and cut melons, had so caused the up-keep and repairs of roads and stock to deteriorate that Uncle Sam found it necessary to spend \$900,000,000 in the time he used the roads.

Oh, fellow farmers, see where the money goes! The strike and the ballot are the two only weapons left to the working man to keep him from unutterable misery.

For the freight-handlers' union an Order-in-Council to fine each man \$1,000—or fight; but democratic Sammy has almost cut the alternative out.

For the lawyers' union—no less of a labor union than any other—an Order-in-Council to hugely increase their already extortionate charges.

If we want a home market, see that our wage earners have reasonable hours, better pay and steady employment. This can only be obtained by democratic control of our large industries, and the Government ownership of all natural resources, and all land not in productive use.

Think of the dividends we have for long years paid to alien enemies! Think of the dividends we have paid to the Grand Trunk Railway over a period of some sixty years, mostly to bloated aristocrats across the ocean. A sum of five per cent. annually should have paid off the entire capitalization of the road in twenty years, but after sixty years of dividend paying, this debt is as healthy and young as ever although it has grown to a sum of \$125,000 per mile!

Housewife the price of every article you buy in the grocery, dry goods, or other store, your train-tickets, postage stamps, et al, bear a freight rate that must make good the dividends on a line of rail you have paid off about three times over and still owe for more than in full.

If you like it, vote for Borden, Sifton, Laurier, et al; in other words, "the party politician."

If you don't—get wise to these things and vote as Non-Partisans for men whom you control through the recall, and are bound to introduce direct legislation.

What our noble boys fought and died for I want to live for, making peace on earth, good-will towards men, a practical reality instead of a mere phrase.

Yours for Democracy in our day.

—D. F. BOISSEVAIN.

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Signposts for Future Action

A NEW NON PARTISAN ALLY

The half-dozen political stand-patters among the U.F.A. and Grain Growers' leaders must have rubbed their eyes and pinched themselves when they read in the last issue of "The Guide" the leading article on "Organization for Justice." So closely does it accord with the view expressed by myself in the last issue of THE NON-PARTISAN and so completely does it unhorse the stand-patters that I may be pardoned a few quotations

"The only way they (the farmers) can hasten the equitable apportionment among all classes of Canadians of the burdens that have to be borne is by organization, education and co-operation in the use of their political power. The only way they can work effectively for the establishment of economic and social justice within the nation is by co-operation in exercising their rights and doing their duty as enlightened justice-seeking Canadian citizens originated from the superstitions of partisanship and strong for the common good."

The farmers of Canada are realizing now in greater numbers than ever before, that partisanship is the madness of the many for the profit of the few.

They are realizing that they can make their votes have power in the State by using them co-operatively in the interests of right and justice."

Only the Guide could cultivate continuity of thought along these lines and display the courage to refrain from defending the defaulters from principle on its own directorate it might hope to regain some measure of the ground it has lost in the last thirteen months as the trusted spokesman for the agrarian interests of Alberta. Old Horace Greely once said that defending the administration when it was wrong was h—l. Defending the choice of a minister, not by the farmers but by A. L. Sifton, the Guide must by this time have learned, belongs in the same topographical area as that referred to by the great New York editor.

—JAMES WEIR.

THE NEW LINE OF ATTACK

Winnipeg, Man.,
Nov. 10th, 1918.

Dear —

Am anxious to know more about the faithful in Calgary than appears in the NON-PARTISAN. It's a great pity the "Flu" carried off Harry Johnson, with his fine democratic aspirations and great energy. His death is a loss but—

"He is not dead whose glorious mind
Lifts thine on high.

To live in hearts we leave behind
Is not to die."

Harry will live in the hearts of all who were fortunate enough to have known him. I trust the "Flu" will deal kindly with our genuine democrats—they are so few.

The Labor News is now an assured success. The support has been fine and encouraging. The censor bothered a bit but with peace we hope for the abolition of that, and also the other restrictions on the partial liberty we once enjoyed.

Since peace has drawn near my thoughts have frequently turned to the changed conditions which are coming. Labor has won recently several victories in the economic field by the strike, but this was made possible by labor shortage, urgent need of war supplies, etc., etc. Peace will

change these conditions, and the line of attack must shift to the political field. I am afraid the workers will not realize this quickly enough. Am glad you are driving it home in recent issues and I hope our democratic editors will more and more impress the point upon their audiences.

W. D. Bayley writes cheerfully of the political situation in New Zealand and says there is good reason for optimism. The "Flu" ban here has seriously interfered with our activities in civic politics but we mean to hold our own.

Please compliment Mrs. Carson for me on starting an agitation for a woman representative from Canada to be at the Peace Conference. I sincerely hope the woman's organizations will force that issue to a successful finish. It's fine to have people who are alert!

Have the farmers in Manitoba subscribed to the paper yet? It's one of the most interesting I get and it's a great pleasure to me to read it! Have been in the doctor's hands for a month following an operation. Hope soon to be in harness again and to be in better shape than ever. Keep up the good fight!

Sincerely, —F. J. DIXON.

FARMERS OF ONTARIO ARE AWAKE.

At a meeting of the executive of the United Farmers of Ontario, representatives was appointed to attend the meeting of the Canadian Council of Agriculture at Winnipeg, on Nov. 26th, and were instructed to bring forward for consideration there the creation of a farmers' political party.

It was decided to have the question discussed at the annual convention of the U. F. O. at Toronto, in December, and in the meanwhile to go on nominating farmer candidates for rural ridings in which vacancies occur.

In view of developments of the past year, "the farmers' platform" came up for further consideration. The sweeping tariff reductions, reciprocity with the United States and free trade with Britain, and the substitution of unimproved land taxes, and income, corporation and inheritance taxes were re-affirmed.

So, also, were the planks calling for nationalization of railways, telegraphs, telephone and express services, etc., the leasing instead of sale of natural resources, and the initiative and referendum.

Important new declarations of policy were also approved subject to revision or adoption by the Canadian Council of Agriculture and the next U. F. O. convention. These were:—

1. Absolute freedom of discussion.
2. No change in Canada's relations with the Empire until after free and full discussion by the Canadian people.
3. Permanent Dominion-wide prohibition of the manufacture, importation and sale of liquor.
4. Repeal of the War Times' Election Act.

Several Non-Partisan meetings and conventions had been planned for November, but arrangements had to be abandoned on account of the "Flu" epidemic. The Executive will meet as early as possible to consider future plans and make further arrangements.

"Is Political Action Necessary?"
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From Our Own Correspondent

WHY PROTECTION FLOURISHES



Now that release, full and dramatic, has come from the horrors and destructions of war, the consideration and discussion of the problems of peace in a rational and intelligent manner, becomes a paramount and pressing duty. The supreme aim and ideal of the world's statesmen and leaders, (alas, all our leaders are not statesmen) should be to arrange a settlement which will absolutely preclude a repetition of the tragedy of the last four years not for three or four generations but for all time to come. The liberal elements among the Allies under the inspiring leadership of President Wilson, to whom the role of spokesman for democracy, cast aside by Lloyd George, has fallen, are committed to the ideal of evolving some sort of international order to replace the chronic sabre-rattling anarchy of the past. They can count on the support of the new democratic states, which are daily taking shape out of the ruins of Central Empires; it is significant that all their plans are for socialist republics, there is no talk of constitutional monarchies and compromises. Three years hence we may see an advanced standardized democracy existing from the Rhine to the Urals beside which the governments of Britain and the U.S.A. will seem mediæval.

The extent of the German debacle is all to the good for the League of Nations. Its sponsors plan the establishment of a supernatural political entity, which will impose its authority upon the various nationalisms composing it and eliminate by processes of arbitration and conciliation the cause and occasions of war between peoples. The establishment of the League of Nations is the supreme liberal idea before the world to-day and may well create a political division in every country between progressives and conservatives, before it is achieved. Its more clear-sighted supporters are acutely aware that their attempts to create a supernatural political authority, which will eliminate the possibilities of war, must fail as long as the economic rivalries of the past, which were the main buttress of the armament craze, are allowed to continue with unabated ferocity. They realize that the very core of the problem of a permanent settlement is bound up with the choice of future economic policies by the various peoples.

President Wilson has gone on record as opposed to economic discriminations of any sort. By this he probably does not demand immediate free trade for all countries adhering to the League of Nations; but assuredly all intelligent thinkers and democrats must agree that a League of Nations with the contracting units fenced in from one another by high tariffs and free to wage trade wars, would be a farce and mockery, which would have inherent in itself the seeds of dissolution. Hence we find that protectionists the world over are ranged with the militarists and the armament firms to decry the League of Nations and scoff at internationalism through their venal jingo organs of the press. Deep answers deep, as Senator Lodge and Mr. Roosevelt greet the Morning Post of London and the Paris

Action Francaise in vociferous agreement that internationalism is a poisonous thing, begetting flabbiness and national decay of mind and body, that human nature cannot change, the combative spirit must always have free play and each nation's best guardian is its own well-sharpened sword. Down with Wilson and the League of Nations and all such pernicious effeminacy—let us arm ourselves for another enjoyable war a generation hence.

These gentry do not mention tariffs and protectionism but behind their horror of a new international order, lies a desperate desire to maintain certain aspects of the old which would be endangered. Of these aspects the best beloved in the widest circles is the system of protective tariffs. Here in Canada the removal of the duty on tractors last spring to encourage agricultural production seemed the end of all things to every manufacturer in the country and created an uproar which is still only muffled. What will the wrath and horror be if the Peace Conference arranges successfully for the establishment of a League of Nations and decrees that no member of it shall be allowed to maintain more than a ten per cent. tariff against another. It requires very little imagination to picture the Canadian Manufacturers' Association sending a deputation to Ottawa to demand that Canada withdraw from it, into what Lord Salisbury called "splendid isolation."

Now the theory of free exchange is perfectly simple and logical. Trade is a matter of mutual benefit, which brings gain to both parties concerned.

It is a sheer delusion to hold as protectionists do that trade is a species of conflict in which one party inevitably bests the other. Were it so, its volume would speedily diminish. Again, it is beneficial for A. and B., two persons, to exchange with one another certain kinds of goods for the production of which each possesses some special advantage of soil, position or skill, what can it matter whether A. and B. live under the same government or different governments? It can never be to the advantages of A.'s nation, for A.'s government to coerce him into selling to or buying from C. because C. is a member of A.'s nation rather than from B., a foreigner, though by dealing with the latter A. can secure a greater gain. Though C. may gain from the act of coercion, A. will lose and A.'s loss will be greater in normal times than C.'s gain, so that the national group to which A. and C. belong will in the aggregate be poorer apart from the trouble and expense involved in the act of interference.

The intellectual basis of free trade being so elementarily simple and so obviously sound, what is the reason why the majority of nations have hitherto declined to model their commercial policy upon its principles and why do most governments at the risk of dangerous disputes assume that they can increase the aggregate wealth or property of their respective nations by forcible interferences with the flow of trade and capital? Is protectionism merely a belated survival of an antiquated policy based upon false conceptions of the functions of the state? When it is so easily proved that economic Protectionism is based upon a complete misconception of the true nature of commerce, why have practically all modern governments save Great Britain, persistently supported the theory that the prosperity of their peoples can be increased by com-

mercial regulations and restraints and why have statesmen otherwise reasonable and intelligent, sedulously applied this theory in policy.

The true explanation lies in the acute opposition between the interests of certain classes within each nation and the welfare of the nation as a whole and in the ability of these classes to impose their class interests upon the policy of the country.

Protection is indubitably a bad policy for a nation. It diminishes its total output of wealth, distributes it unfairly, imposes a secret, wasteful and onerous method of taxation, breeds political corruption, establishes monopolies and provokes ill-will and quarrels with other nations. But it remains a fine policy for capitalists in certain well-organized industries, who by their political pressure can construct a tariff which enables them to raise their prices, form combinations and increase their profits at the expense of the weaker industries and the consuming public. A portion of the illicit profits thus fished can be applied to maintaining and increasing the political pull needed and to devising a skillful, propaganda which will picture protection as a sound national and Imperial policy. The ill-will which tariffs engender in neighbouring peoples and the reprisals which they provoke supplement the delusion that trade is fundamentally a form of competition rather than of co-operation and that nations are by the unchangeable nature of things hostile competitors. The diplomatic and sometimes the military struggles which emerge from tariff wars serve to confirm this delusion. Hence it comes that protection speedily and easily passes from the position of a scheme of unscrupulous class plunder to the glorious role of a patriotic public policy.

Finally, given favorable circumstances, it can be fastened upon the state as an urgent political and military necessity. States which stop the natural courses of trade hinder the development, steal the markets of and inflict economic injuries upon their neighbours, live in constant fear lest the injured interests in the rival states may be strong enough to coerce their government into forcible intervention. Each state it is argued must look carefully to its economic as well as its military defences. Our own steel interests will, for instance, see with the deepest regret the disappearance of armaments if this is brought to pass. Gradually, therefore, a "national economy" of industrial, agricultural and commercial self-sufficiency and permanent Protectionism is established as its vital instrument. Protectionism in the ultimate is merely economic militarism and as such should be scotched along with all other forms of militarisms or they will revive and blossom from its root. (Some other aspects of the tariff problem will be discussed in future letters.) —BYSTANDER.

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LIFE and WORK

EDUCATION IN DEMOCRACY

By the Editor

It is a splendid tribute to human character when we find men and women willing to die for democracy as so many of our people have done, but as seen in the test of every day life there are few who are able to live for democracy. When as a people we have learned to live for this principle it may not be necessary for so many to die for it in the future. It is really the living for a principle that truly establishes it. Armies and Navies no matter how glorious and irresistible they may be have only a negative value to democracy. Their success at the present time may prevent the Autocratic influence of Potsdam from giving a severe check to the progress of the democratic spirit, but armies and navies do not develop the spirit of democracy in the life of a people, on the contrary it often has the opposite effect. The creative soul of a people, the positive spirit of democracy can develop only through the educational methods adopted by a people. We can have in reality just that measure of democracy which as a people we have enlarged our minds and hearts to receive, hence education as a means of deepening and broadening the mind and enlarging our sympathies is the bulwark of democracy.

History demonstrates that the best way to maintain an autocracy is to educate a few autocrats, who by virtue of their privilege educate the masses to be subservient. Thus it happens that we are not suffering so much of education. An uneducated mind would be similar to a vacuum, and would be comparatively easy to fill up, but when the mind has already been filled with false philosophy there is no room left for truth. So it happens that a false education is worse than no education.

Mr. J. E. Boodin, of Carlton College, describes English and German Education in "School and Society." He says that the English idea of education may be represented as a "cultured gentleman," and the German idea as that of "efficiency." The war has taught England that her cultured gentleman must be efficient, while it has impressed Germany with the necessity for her efficient man to be a gentleman. If democracy be the victor in the present world conflict, it might be expected that a more thorough and more fundamental idea of education would enter the minds of the nations.

What then may we ask will be Canada's idea of education? Canada with her cosmopolitanism, her love of freedom, and her professed democracy should be able to furnish the world with a noble educational ideal. We might be expected at least to socialize the "cultured gentleman" idea of England, and to adopt the efficiency idea of Germany, and that in adopting the latter we might be expected to discover a nobler end for efficiency than the "will to power" over the weak. Education for Canada should consist in the discovery of the true meaning of life, i.e., that a noble and happy humanity is the end of all human endeavour; and that to this end justice, usefulness and kindness must be the cardinal principles of our education.

Germany has demonstrated to the world the power of education. She has taught her people to seek a destiny of power by means of military conquest in doing this both mind and emotion have been utilized. A programme of ruthlessness sits solidly upon a philosophy of power, while her people sing: "Deutschland Uber Allies." If then an education that is false to humanity and which now has been repudiated by the world, could be so successful in uniting a people, and leading to such great accomplishments towards an unworthy end as is shown by Germany, may we not expect wonderful results from a democratic education which will aim at justice, usefulness, and kindness?

The only hope of democracy in Canada rests in education. At the present time our educational idea is not democratic; it has not discovered the meaning of life; it does not aim at justice, usefulness, and kindness. On the contrary it is individualistic, substituting the German will to power, by the chance to become rich; it teaches a patriotism that is as narrow as that of Germany, and if persisted in will lead to as disastrous results; the idea of service to the common cause is secondary, if indeed it appears at all. In short our education both in aim and method must be democratized.

Those who control our educational destiny to-day are products of the individualistic regime. The great wars for liberty in previous history have failed because the educational and religious institutions did not remodel themselves on principles of liberty. We stand in danger of allowing history to repeat itself if a change of a fundamental character is not effected in our educational institutions. It would be misleading and vain to judge the democratic efficiency in Canada by the surface outbursts of human passions which at times like these find expression in talk, and hysterical demonstrations. These will pass quickly, and if no attempt is made to prepare people for democracy through a wisely conceived system, democracy will be defeated in Canada.

Next issue "Democratizing our Educational Institutions." The issue following "Democracy and Patriotism."

Read W. E. Mobberly's letter, P. 10

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PEACE AND PROGRESS

[Note:--Our contributor, "Will Workman" will follow this article with others on subjects of social interest and of importance to the workers, and we are glad to give him the opportunity to develop his ability in this direction.]

With the coming of Peace perhaps we can without endangering our Patriotism think for a few moments about those problems which have been taboo for the last three years. Let us win the War first, has been the parrot cry of not only the Union Government and its predecessor, but of almost every individual and organization and to suggest or speak of what might or should be undertaken in the interests of returned soldiers and civilian alike, was to proclaim either a lack of loyalty or else downright Pro-Germanism.

However, now we have won the war, the war that we have been assured was fought to destroy Autocracy and enthroned Democracy we can turn right about face, start a new page and begin living under Utopian conditions which the Hebrew seer Isaiah spoke of and which have been the theme that has inspired the long line of humanitarian dreamers. At least that would be the assumption, but before this glorious reality is ours, some are a little afraid that a series of disillusionings will be gone through and the defeating of Prussian Autocracy will not by any means be synonymous with the putting into practice of that form of government in which Equality and Justice are the chief characteristics.

It would be well, before building up for ourselves an elaborate new structure, if we reflect for a while, with the object of finding out where we stand and compare our position, economically, industrially, politically and spiritually with that of 1914.

In the year that preceded the outbreak of war, strikes and industrial unrest were the predominating feature in the lives of the toiling millions of Great Britain and Europe. More and more it was being borne into the minds of even the conservative among them, that, "Something was rotten in the State of Denmark," year after year they had been told from pulpit, platform and press that the countries in which they lived were more prosperous and figures were given out showing, that both as regarding domestic and foreign trade such prosperity had never before been dreamt of.

In spite of these aggregations of wealth, it was slowly filtering through the brains of the average citizen, that it was possible to live in a country of fabulous wealth and finish their days in a poorhouse, and that as matter of fact the difference between a lean year and a prosperous one

was easily accounted for by the difference in the cost of the necessities of life.

The consciousness of this had driven the toiler into Trades Unions and through these organizations were being propagated Industrial and Political schemes having for their aim and object a fuller, freer and more lovely existence, Socialists and Radicals were increasing their representation in every legislative body in Europe and their schemes of social reform were being listened to, no longer was it possible to ridicule their arguments, something had to be done to stem the tide and so specious schemes of Social Reform were the order of the day. Cobdenism, and the Manchester School was forgotten by the Liberals and State Insurance against illness, unemployment, etc., were to be the panacea for every evil. The Churches were also waking to the fact that vestments and thousand-year-old symbols were no longer efficacious and throughout both the Established and Non-conformist bodies were appearing a sprinkling of thinkers whose attitude towards the new outlook were plainly sympathetic.

What was true of Europe, was so to a more marked degree true of Australia, while the United States and Canada, perhaps not realizing so keenly the need, were bringing up the rear.

That was the condition of affairs, when, like a bolt from the blue the war-cloud burst. Whether it was willed or no, events have proved, that there is no one thing that can block domestic reform so effectually as a great war. Almost immediately every safeguard that had been erected by organized labor was pulled down, hours, working conditions and dilution of labor by the unskilled and female help went by the board, the mad scramble for men and munitions would brook no interference, the war must be won. It is true that the Government of Great Britain came to the conclusion some time after that some of the safeguards would have served the country better had they been left standing, but on the whole organized labor was called upon to sacrifice more than it had gained in the ten years previous.

In the Political field also the countries at war have suffered reverses. Lloyd George has turned from a social reformer and a destroyer of the House of Lords into an Imperialist and an Apologist for the Aristocrats, instead of a strong Liberal Party, we have an hybrid aggregation called a Coalition and instead of a strong united Labor Party we have a Patriotic and a Pacifist Party. Just as "Mercy blesses him that gives and him that takes," so war it would appear dams the victor as well as the vanquished, we have only to compare the speeches of President Wilson of two years ago with his speeches of today to find substantial evidence of its

soul-destroying influence. In this Canada of OURS while the Trades Unions have not given away to the same extent as Great Britain yet the movement towards Democracy has been visibly set back, the Censorship of the Press, the curtailment of freedom of speech, the repressive legislation enacted through autocratic Orders-in-Council have all added their quota towards destroying our boasted democratic institutions and we have noted the peculiar spectacle of an Autocracy being built up for the purpose of destroying the same evil in our adve saries, of course all these things were necessary to win the war, Crothers told us so, Cera told us and last week the Hon F. Carvell repeated it and if further proof were needed every hydra-headed Corporation in the country has intoned a loud Amen.

It would be foolish, however, to suggest that it has all been retrogression, here and there the stern necessities of war have demonstrated that the old order with its every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost doctrine is incapable of being made applicable to present day conditions. The idea that the individual dragged up in a sium, lacking all the essentials of nutrition, sanitation and education could be transformed in the mass into a nation of A1 citizens has been refuted more thoroughly than all the writings of the Rowntrees, Webbs, and Spargo could have done it in a generation. The cause of Woman Suffrage has had a very decided im etus.

The downfall of the Czar, the apparent decay of Monarchial institutions in Germany, the breaking down of the lines of demarkation between the working and the leisured classes, while not exactly being positive steps forward, are at any rate a clearing of the ground and a very necessary process before we can proceed on the forward march which we will discuss in our next.

—WILL WORKMAN.

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MY! MR. SMITH. DRAW IT FINE!

"We have at Ottawa to-day double-barrelled patronage. They have to satisfy the hungry in both camps. It is a political combine. Combines are dangerous whether they be combines in restraint of trade or combines in restraint of justice and fair-play—whether newspaper combines or combines of political parties."

—Hon. George Puritan Smith, of Camrose, in the Red Deer Election.

SAY! MR. MITCHELL. GO EASY!

"A Union Government could not be an independent government. It was idle to think that the Union Government at Ottawa had thrown off partyism. The Union Government was just as strong a Party Government to-day as any Liberal or Conservative party ever was. Independent support could not be injected into a Union Government, or, if so, how could a Union Government be run? The same thing applied to Provincial politics."

—Hon. Chas. Mitchell, in the Red Deer Election.

We have a new artist this issue—came in on crutches, one leg being left "over there."



TOPICS IN BRIEF

The substitution of Peace Terms for War Aims will be the outstanding question in the Election in Britain.

Mr. Lloyd George has some skill in political strategy and is under no delusion as to the basis of his present hold on the nation.

He goes to the electorate as the indispensable man, who secured to the nation not only shells, but a successful issue of its dreadful trials, and who alone can be trusted to carry the matter through to a finish.

After the Treaty of Peace is signed and ratified by all Parties, there will be no indispensable man. The issues then would be all too plainly those of social, industrial and political reconstruction; and amid the discolation of demobilization there would be a horrible shortage of coal; and all the fountains of the deep would be opened.

Five million Trade Unionists do not forget the Government is pledged to restore pre-war conditions and to legally compel employers to do so.

Peace Preliminaries and Polling Day in Britain will run a race. Peace Preliminaries may win by a short head.

The Allied Armies, President Wilson, and the Bolsheviks all from different motives made the revolution ripe.

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to make a tire last as long as possible. It's sheer waste to discard one because it has been cut, torn or badly blown out. Our vulcanizing process keeps tires on the active service list. No puncture, cut or tear but what we can treat so that the tire will be as serviceable as a new one. If you have a damaged tire, for economy's sake bring it here.

Black's Vulcanizing Works
708a SECOND ST. WEST
CALGARY

Phone M 5311

SUPPLY THE WORKING CAPITAL THAT CANADA MAY CARRY ON

WITHOUT the money supplied by the Victory Loan, Canada's farms would lose their profitable market; hundreds of our factories and shops would be closed; and the war effort of which all Canadians are so justly proud could not be maintained.

Canada is in the position today of a big business house with a rapidly growing trade.

She is making money.

But the success of her business depends entirely on her ability to procure working capital.

She distributes millions in purchasing food, clothing and munitions for her splendid fighting men.

She distributes other millions in paying for goods for Great Britain. For, at the moment Great Britain,

her best customer, cannot pay cash for her purchases in Canada.

— All classes of Canadian people and all trades benefit directly by this distribution of money—the farmer, the artisan, the manufacturer, lumberman, miner, fisherman and merchant.

The working capital needed for this gigantic business can be obtained only by borrowing from the Canadian people through the Victory Loan 1918.

On the success of this loan depends not only the victorious prosecution of the War, but the continued prosperity of the whole country.

Help Canada provide the working capital and benefit yourself by buying Victory Bonds to your utmost. Urge others to buy. Do everything in your power to "go over the top" with the Victory Loan 1918.

Issued by Canada's Victory Loan Committee
in co-operation with the Minister of Finance
of the Dominion of Canada

BUY Victory Bonds
